1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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surrounded with grass and covered with paper bark. The bark is covered with human blood, on which is pasted birds' down or bush cotton, and on one yermerlindi a representation of Muit is painted in human blood against the white-feather or cotton background. This yermerlindi is another emblem of the rock python totem. The other is called a palm tree emblem, but it is known to be a python totem too, for it has a snake design upon it. The two are stood up by the Yiritja men. They say to each other, "Oh! They are true Wongars [totemic spirits]." The leader sings a song to prevent sickness since the yermerlindi are very powerful because Muit is inside them.

2. The Yiritja camp, where the yermerlindi is made, although still on the men's ceremonial ground, is placed at one side of the actual dancing ground. No Dua man can go near it. The Dua leader asks from time to time by circumlocution if the yermerlindi is made, even when the emblem is completed.

While the Yiritja are making the yermerlindi, the Dua men send presents of food to them for making the yermerlindi. The Yiritja men send the Dua presents of kangaroo fat and red ocher with which to paint the Yiritja dancers.

The Dua leader of the Gunabibi once more asks if the Yiritja have finished their work, and they reply that yermerlindi is ready. The leader says, "One day more and then we will dance with yermerlindi." The Yiritja never say that yermerlindi is ready until the two messengers have returned with the visitors.

3. Following the blue-tongued lizard dance which marks the end of a phase of the ceremony, the Gunabibi pauses so the men may eat their evening meal.

Later in the evening the neophytes are placed on the raised ground on the concave side of the kartdjur. Two leaders now conduct the ceremony. A new phase of the Gunabibi has begun. A long shallow trench of some fifty feet is extended from one end of the kartdjur. The neophytes have bushes placed under their armpits. The Yiritja snakes and the Dua leaders put their own arm sweat on the eyes of all the initiates.

All those who are not dancing stand on the raised ground with the chorus. Two dancers sing reed warbler in a small piping tone which forms a ludicrous contrast to the heavy male chorus. The onlookers in chorus appreciate the deliberate humor of the contrast. The clown element, although not definitely and elaborately developed, is present in this part of the ceremony as well as later.

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884 form. When the moon is about quarter full in the west the messengers return. Everyone becomes very quiet; that peculiar type of quietness reigns in which one almost feels there is trouble brewing within a Murngin camp.—Then the people who have had trouble during the last year, or even prior to that time, begin to quarrel and fight. They are always of different clans, never members of the same group. When [198] fights start, the leaders stop them. The people who have been keeping the Ulmark stand by, spears in hand, and talk the ki-djin "language" to them; some sing it. The "language" is a kind of native pidgin which includes words from the Mullikan, Djuan, and other native languages from the south.

884 A man noted for his clownish abilities takes his spear and spear-thrower from his personal basket, eats his food in an absurd manner, ● 522 and generally acts the fool while he talks the kidjin language. Everyone laughs at this performance. If one of the quarreling men turns on the clown, the latter points a spear at him and pretends to spear him. The general loud laughter from everyone keeps the angry one from committing any overt act; and since the clown and his audience express no hostility, the offended man cannot cause trouble. It is clear that this clowning is a method of preventing feuds from breaking out during the ceremony.

884 The Torres Straits pigeon is danced again and the pigeon pulled 535 through the drum as before. The spear is danced again, and the entire remaining sequence of Ulmark dances repeated; the snail shells are [302] placed on the spear-throwers as before, and all the men paint their bodies and upper arms and legs with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 2. The initiates lie down in two lines. The four messengers sing near the general camp, but low enough so that the women cannot hear 533 them. They sing in the kidjin language. Then they sing louder, and the women answer with the refrain: "Kait-ba! kait-ba!"

3. On the men's ground two lines of dancers throw the snail rattles back and forth. They, too, sing the refrain of the women. After this all go to the general camp singing the kait-ba song. They take the marl-pin-pin with them. When they get on the ground near the general camp they change the refrain to a kind of low humming noise, "m-u-mmmmmmmmm."

884 4. The women meanwhile have come out to the intermediate ground and stand in a line, and the men approach and form themselves into a line opposite them. The men from one clan throw a snail-shell rattle to the women belonging to the same clan. They throw the

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Emu. It was because they fought that Jabiru stayed by the sea and Emu went into the bush.

Bamapama, Trickster Hero

Bamapama is the trickster hero of the Murngin. He was a man who lived in the mythological period and committed a great number of asocial acts, most of them incestuous. He is depicted as ever filled with sexual desire and always anxious to satisfy it by attacking the wives of other men, particularly those women who belong to his own moiety. He is a somewhat stupid fellow, rather gay, and is usually attempting some trick by which he can satisfy his inordinate lust.

Any attempt to get at a deeper understanding of his place in Murngin culture must consider not only the general content of the stories about him, which follow, but also the effect on the Murngin to whom they are told, the other uses to which the myths are put besides mere story-telling, and at times the reasons why they are told.

The Murngin think of Bamapama as a "crazy man" and one who breaks all tribal laws and cannot be disciplined. A man who is "crazy" and a young man who cannot be disciplined are classed as one and the same. A man of this kind (often called wakinu and "all the same as Bamapama") is usually killed by his own people, or they take him to another country and have some of their enemies kill him. Although an insane person and an asocial person are classed under the same term, there is a distinction made in the behavior of the people toward them, for an insane man is given special treatment and is protected and guarded by all his people.

The Bamapama stories are correlated with the clan local organization. Some of the themes of this cycle are enacted in ritual (see the Marunga clan garma ceremony, pages 564-565). The Bamapama stories, as well as the mother-in-law story (see page 562) function as negative sanctions in the enforcement of clan and moiety laws surrounding sexual discipline, particularly that of incest. The stories always elicit gales of laughter and make the trickster a figure of derision; at the same time he is liked as an amusing fellow. He has something of the fascination of the devil in our own society, although it must be clearly understood that the native trickster is not morally as well developed as is our own trickster. Bamapama is a symbol of asocial behavior since he not only breaks the laws of exogamy but acts "like a crazy fellow." When he eats charcoal and "runs around like a dog," when he fights with dogs instead of human beings, the laughter in a group of listeners aroused by his escapades seems to act as a release for the repression of asocial desires in the minds of the people. The Bamapama stories constrain the individual from committing similar acts by his consciousness of the group's disapproval of such behavior and by a disapproval of himself should he even conceive of himself in a similar situation.

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626 182 776 522 Ridicule and laughter are two strong sanctions for the enforcement of discipline in Murngin society. The speaker is usually, but not always, an older man who knows the stories, and the audience is composed ordinarily of younger men. The actions of Bamapama are always asocial. The laughter at his actions seems to serve two purposes. In the first place, it holds such actions as his up to ridicule and scorn and identifies anyone who does such things as being in the same category and worthy of the same scornful laughter; at the same time the various social pressures which are bearing against the individuals of the community to force their obedience to the restricted sexual codes are vicariously evaded and the deeper asocial yearnings expressed by the enjoyment of Bamapama's exploits. It seems possible that Bamapama, the trickster hero, is a creation of the vicarious satisfaction of the Murngin males' inhibited incestuous desires and further serves a positively useful function in bringing ridicule on these same collective individual desires and preventing their direct satisfaction. It can easily be seen that the women also appreciate these stories and likewise derive a vicarious satisfaction out of listening to them.

776 Bamapama is present in the various areas under a number of names, but under all of them he is recognized as Bamapama himself. He was supposed to have lived in the pre-human period, although some of the stories are told about his actions in relation to modern clanspeople.

BAMAPAMA AND GURRONG

X113 That very crazy fellow's name is Bamapama. He is a true bushman. It was in the days of Wongar, in the country of the Burilung clan. All the young girls of the people were sitting down in a line. This man Bamapama went over where they were and looked at them. He looked and looked at these girls. He called them Gurrong. They called him Marelker.

He said to these girls, "You run along here. I want to look at you."

They ran and ran, and then came back. He made each one of them jump over a stick as she ran. He wanted the girls to jump over this stick to see how they would look, for there were too many of them together to tell what each looked like. As each one jumped over he said, "That's no good."

The girls were young and had firm, well-developed breasts. As each jumped over it he scratched his head. Finally he asked them all to run once more, so that he could look at them again.

There was one girl he liked the most. He selected her from the rest and rubbed her back and breasts with his hands. He said to her, "Gurrong, I want you to come with me to this pool where we will catch some fish." He said, "You go ahead and I'll come behind."

He was lying to her. He came by a tree, the bark of which is used to poison fish, and scratched off some of the bark. He put it in the water and poisoned the fish. The fish died and came to the top of the water. Bamapama and his gurrong caught several of them. They put them on the bank

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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She said, "That is a thing that you have liked."

He then called that country Mon-gu-li which is the eastern part of Elcho Island, which is nearest Cape Wessel Island. The name is a power name for the labia minora. 773X

After he had had intercourse with the woman the man went to sleep. He then went out in the bush and gathered some yams for food. He cooked them and made a big fire and roasted them. He then made a yam totem emblem. He slept until morning. In the morning he heard Lapar, the dove pigeon, crying out. He got up and went down to the well and got that yam ranga where he had placed it in a basket. He took it out of the basket and also took the yams he had gathered out of the same basket and put them on a piece of paper bark. The yams had been cooked and he mashed them into a thick dough. He put his sweat on that bread. He then gave it to the young boys who had not been initiated. The boys ate it. Green ants appeared from everywhere. They bit that old man all over his body. They also bit the young boys. The green ants' power name is Koikoi. This old man had done wrong giving the young boys this power bread without their first being initiated. The young boys left the food and ran away. This country is now called Nartinga (ant bite). Narti is the name of a green ant. This is in the southern part of Elcho Island. It is a hill there. A sea hawk, Dimala, made that nest. He called that country Garnapai. Nearby is a well which a tree snake made in the old days. Malawerango saw thunder and lightning at this time. He said to the boys who were with him, "I think a very big rain is coming. You go one way and I'll go the other."

He went out to where the red ocher was, and the others went into the jungle. The jungle people, who were mokois, saw them and laughed. You can hear those same mokois laugh in that jungle today. Malawerango and the people who followed him found a native companion. This native companion had come from the Dai country. The native companion called that little part of the country Naiyawalinga (the nest of a native companion).

MOTHER AND SON

In the time of Wongar a Gwiyamil boy was groaning in the camp of his mother. His mother asked him what was the matter but he did not answer and kept on groaning. 773X 831 522

"Shall I give you honey?" she asked.

"No," he groaned.

"Do you want some kangaroo?"

"No," he groaned.

"Would you like some barrimundi?"

"No," he groaned.

"Would you like some turtle eggs?"

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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X T13 "No," he groaned.
"Or porpoise?"
831 "No," he groaned.
522 The mother named all the good things to eat and drink and all the other good things in the world, but the boy only groaned in reply. Then she said, "Would you like my vagina?"
"Yes," he cried, "that is what I want."

(An old man told this story to me with a group of younger men around. They all laughed with much amusement at the conclusion. It is another story based on the incest theme. It also shows the two main interests in the life of the Murngin, sex and food.)

AN INCESTUOUS MOTHER-IN-LAW

X 113 Three men, Daura, Burnanguira, and Kalimara, who were Warumeri from Elcho Island, took a stringy-bark canoe for Wessel Island. They paddled and paddled. They were close to Wessel Island, when a big wind came up. They tried to paddle against the wind, but it was too strong.

"We'll stop. The canoe will have to go its own way." The canoe turned north and westward. In the morning they saw land. It was an island. It was that small island north of Marung and the Crocodile Group. They went ashore. They saw a great many tracks of people who live there. The people there talk Kolpa. The three men said to themselves, "They are just the same as we are."

There was an old woman there who had three daughters. She made three camps and gave a daughter to each man. These daughters were Dua. After she had decided to give them to the men she changed her mind and decided to give only one daughter to one man and she persuaded her sisters to give a daughter to each of the other two men. When it was evening the first old woman went to sleep. When it was dark she sat with her head in her hands and thought. The husband of her daughter started fondling his new wife. The old woman sneaked up and looked. She blew on the fire in front of their hut and groaned. "I am cold," she moaned. She lied. She lay down and pretended to sleep and started snoring, but she had one eye open.

The man raised up and prepared to copulate with the girl, but the old woman crawled in the hut and pushed the daughter on one side and lay down in the middle.

"I am very cold," she moaned.

In the second hut one of the other men had arisen and was preparing to have sexual intercourse with his new wife when the second old woman crawled in between and said, "I am cold. I want to sleep here."

In the third tent the third man was lying on top of his wife when the third old woman pushed him off and crawled in between the two. "I am cold," she said.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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over symbolically to gather in the sea birds. While Bamapama does this he laughs uproariously. He then attempts to hide his phallic emblem but the two women see it because it is too large for him to hide. He then changes his tactics, raises it high in the air and shows it to them to frighten them. The group of people who are watching this dance are always extremely amused at this point and frequently some of them literally hold their sides with laughter. The two women leave, but he sneaks up on them and once more ritually has intercourse with them and again laughs and laughs. Even today one can see the holes in the ground which are the vaginas of the two women, and one can also see the stone phallus of Bamapama.

When Bamapama has finished his relations with the two women he takes a canoe, and at this point the chorus sings (10), canoe. He paddles hard and rapidly. The men's chorus imitates this with the movement of their spear-throwers. He arrives at a Marunga camp on Elcho Island. It is daylight there when he arrives and it has taken him all night to make this journey. He leaves the canoe and camps by the well which is out in the tidal flats. To indicate this (11), the name of the camp, is sung. The camp carries a number of meanings, according to native interpretation: "The Ding Ding people say, 'Mari, you try a song, we want to listen to you.' He sang his garma song. 'This one is mine,' he said. They said, 'No, that is wrong, that is for a ranga [high totem]. We'll show you the proper song.' They sang it then. He said, 'This one is a garma song. You look out for the ranga, I'll look out for the garmas. I'm going to get some food for you.' These people were his kutaras. When he said this, his kutaras sang the chorus of the Narra, and the Marunga man left them that song. 'All right, kutara, you can make rangas. We can start it but we want that Narra to go to you.' The two together sang Narra and called out the names of Marunga people because they were kutara and mari. Marlerwerango and the Ding Ding men sang, and the two Djunkgao women were there."

House of Marlerwerango or Bamapama (12) is then sung, followed by (13) the picking of banyan tree fruit. The men dance the picking of the fruit that is found in the trees at the Marunga land of Elcho Island. They dance and sing fish net (14), which refers to the catching of the soul of the dead, and (15) a pelican catching fish. This again refers to the soul being caught, the fish being the soul and the pelican the sacred element.

A small unidentified sea bird (16) ends the garma ceremony of the Marunga people. It must be stated that all the garma-songs are capable of considerable variation; but each of them has a general pattern which is adhered to in any one of the dances which are given for the various garma occasions.

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OII7 Murngin OII7

Character, Arts and Crafts

Personal Character.

152 In personal character these aborigines are light-hearted and
522 happy, with a great fondness for practical joking. Anything which places another in a position of discomfiture is hugely enjoyed. They are quick and rather violent tempered, but on the whole their temper is shortlived.

152 A comparatively trifling offence will quickly result in a general
579 disturbance, in which both sexes engage, and during which weapons are brandished and an amazing amount of mutual abuse is indulged in, but usually little serious damage is done, and, having talked themselves out, life soon returns to its normal course.

157 As might be expected, there are some few individuals of a more sullen and anti-social type who become notorious as trouble-makers, and who constitute a difficult problem for their own people. The outstanding weakness of the aborigine's character is his want of a sense of personal responsibility. Rarely does a man act on his own initiative or assume and maintain an individual attitude in regard to any matter.

[157] This is undoubtedly accounted for by the fact that in the
[182] aboriginal community the unit is not the individual, but the
614 tribal horde. The tribe or group stands or falls together. Every
672 member of it shares in the honour or disgrace of any one of its number. An offence by one member is regarded by another tribe or division as an offence by the whole of the offender's division. All are held as being equally guilty.

614 In such serious offences as occasion the shedding of blood,
628 the members of the injured tribe or division make no special
672 attempt to avenge themselves upon the individual who has actually committed the offence, but are as well satisfied if they succeed in punishing any member of the party to which he belongs. Though the tribe as a whole may strongly disapprove of the action of one of their number, by which action hostility has been created between them and another tribe, they, knowing they are all involved, must nevertheless stand behind this particular individual.

182 In this way is the individual relieved of the responsibility of
157 his own actions, and does not personally realise their results
614 EITHER FOR GOOD OR ILL.
[672]

speaking groups of Elcho Island, the Glyde and Goyder Rivers on the west, and eastwards around Buckingham, Arnhem and Melville Bays, to Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw and south to Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, had little actual experience of the sinister cult of the *kalka*. But when the Methodist Mission moved from Elcho Island to the Crocodile Group and set up its headquarters at Milingimbi, an island lying a short distance off the coast, it brought the people who had accompanied the Mission into the very stronghold of a form of secret killing or sorcery that was strange to them. On this account they came to regard the people of the west—whom they called *warnba*, strangers—with fear and suspicion, and they have been more or less at loggerheads with them ever since, resulting in frequent blood feuds, and a considerable loss of life.

For years it was the practice of the natives who had moved from their own countries to the island of Milingimbi, into what was to them foreign and hostile territory, to discourage visits of the local people by acts of aggression and violence, depending on the Mission to protect them from reprisals.

Mr. Webb, who was in charge of the Methodist Mission in the Crocodile Islands, once informed me, when I was at Milingimbi during a brief respite from patrols on the mainland of Arnhem Land, that in the early days of the Mission there he had once, to maintain peace, bought all their fighting spears from the natives, but that when an attack from the mainland was reported to be imminent he had had to re-issue these—though in actual fact the attack did not occur.

As often occurs when a people are brought into contact with those of a different culture, the natives from the east tended to exaggerate traits of the Burara that they regarded as undesirable and often told me ribald stories stressing the misdeeds of their neighbours. After a long recital of the faults of the Burara, whom he stigmatized as *warnba*, one informant remarked by way of special emphasis, '*yappa lukka!*'—they cohabit with their sisters. The brother-sister tabu is rigidly enforced in east Arnhem Land. Even to mention the name of a woman in the presence of her brother is a grave ritual offence, called *mirrirri*, and brother-sister incest is a crime for which there is no expiation, punished by the death of both parties.

The charge of incest against the Burara may owe its origin to the fact that these people, unlike their neighbours to the east, had a normal tribal organization, which meant that members of clans of opposite moieties within the tribe and of the appropriate kinship status could marry, since the tribe is not exogamous. Because people between whom marriage was permitted were actually members of the same tribe, the practice would suggest incest to their neighbours of the east, already fearful of the magic of their *kalka* and ready to attribute to these people practices that were to them anti-social and unnatural. This attitude of the Elcho Island people was well shown by the fact that they charged their neighbours with cannibalism and said of them '*nganak lukka*'—they eat flesh (human)—overlooking the fact that they themselves also practised a form of ritual

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

speak to the mother of so-and-so.' He may also get round the prohibition by using relationship terms or addressing his remarks to a third person.

Nomads have no equivalents to our courtesy phrases 'please' and 'thank you' but make use of a highly developed form of praise. They couch their requests in courteous flattery. A Yulengor who is preserving some highly prized spear-heads may be reluctant to part with them, but if a man says to him, 'Ga, bokor-julni' ('Give to me, your face is smiling, pleasant and good'), he will almost certainly hand over the goods. Again, a man stretching out his hand to a relative for some rare food will probably say: 'Ga, kong-julni' ('Give to me, your hand is kind and generous').

Other forms of speech are used more often between closely related nomads, as when a child says to its mother: 'Ga, bokor-ngati' ('Give to me, your face is like my grandfather's'). Brothers, sisters and cousins say to each other: 'Ga, bokor-bapa' ('Give to me, your face is like your father's'). Sometimes they employ the idiom: 'Rhumbul durung unnera' ('Body and flesh like your father'), though more frequently this is addressed to a corpse in mourning ceremonies.

For years I was at a loss to know why groups of laughing Yulengor broke off their conversation when I happened to be passing, and turned to say: 'Poor fellow-tribal-father.' When I asked why they thought I was a 'poor fellow' they were momentarily nonplussed and I was still further embarrassed. Such a group would never laugh, even at a joke, if they saw an elderly or respected Yulengor passing. If they happen to be laughing or talking as an 'old' man approaches, they turn and say 'Kummajarrk', thereby conveying best wishes, goodwill, and sympathetic understanding, and implying that they think well of him and that their laughter is not at his expense. In similar circumstances,

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

CHAPTER SEVEN

Languages, Signs, and Smoke-Signals

197 POPULAR opinion has it that all aborigines speak one language, and I have often been asked if I can 'speak aboriginal'. Actually, there are scores of different tribal languages throughout Australia, and within these there are hundreds of horde-dialects. In the 34,000 square miles of Arnhem Land there are five distinct languages, one for each of the [621] five groups of hordes, and as there are between a dozen and forty hordes in each horde-group, there are well over a hundred dialects in this small part of Australia.

[114] [621] In the group that I knew best, which extended from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, there were thirty-five hordes, each speaking its own dialect. If you had mastered one of them, Yulengor a few miles away probably could not have understood you. I found that when members of these 191 widely separated hordes met, they could not make themselves 197 understood in their own dialects, but experimented on several till they found one familiar to both parties.

Stone Age men are born linguists, and not only is their speech grammatically correct, but youths amuse themselves by conversing in some little-known dialect. Old Wonggu [522] occasionally introduced a Macassar sentence into ordinary conversation so as to puzzle me, and he would enjoy his joke in using this dialect learnt fifty years previously from East Indian traders. English words and phrases, as well as pidgin English, have occasionally been picked up from traders and beachcombers.

122 191 Since it should be easier for one white man to learn an

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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CHAPTER TWELVE

Aboriginal Temperament

Aborigines are light-hearted and enjoy fun and laugther. 152
Youths are for ever sky-larking and playing practical jokes, [522]
and in ceremonial pantomimes the men spend a lot of time
singing, dancing, and mimicking birds and animals. Intense 152
joy is also expressed through prolonged wailing, when women 201
rhythmically pound their heads with sharp stones and spear-
heads till the blood flows freely.

Emotions lie close to the surface and without warning aborigines run through the gamut of them all. Some seem to be always weeping or wailing, but it would be wrong to imagine that they are a mournful or disconsolate race. To feel lonely for a son or daughter, temporarily in another part of the country, is enough to start a 'wail'. Others awake and join in for an hour or more before subsiding into sleep. When a family leaves camp the relatives will wail in loneliness for several nights, and so frequent are these wails that little attention is paid to them by the rest of the camp.

Twelve months after we landed at Yirrkala, the three boys who had been arrested and jailed in Darwin for their part [648]
in the Japanese killings in Caledon Bay were repatriated to Yirrkala. Relatives surrounded them on the beach and took them to the camp, where they all sat in an uneasy silence till the women, overcome with joy, started to wail. Everyone joined in, and the deep passionate baritone cries of the old man and father of the horde throbbed through the wailing chorus of his sons' and sons' sons' families. Their welcome continued till dawn, with crying and blood-letting interspersed with camp-songs and dances.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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relatives and friends is a matter of amusement. It is only possible to die once, and in the ageless wandering through the unbroken round of day and night, the Stone Age fatalist finds his highest form of excitement in continuing a feud, in raiding other hordes, and in other forms of violence, such as capturing women from another man—in itself a profitable pastime. A general raid is the *pièce de résistance*.

Nevertheless I found nomads to be happy and cheerful; they bear pain and disappointment and face death with extraordinary courage. Resilient natures find humour in a mundane primeval world, and they are always on the look-out for something to laugh at—even to the extent of being amused at the contortions of an expiring enemy or at a healthy man's imitation of physical disabilities in another. Youths and men are convulsed with laughter at the antics of a man aping the gait of a leper, and at the uncertain gropings of the partially blind. Jokes are very simple, and the average is no better than a jealous remark about an old man negotiating for youthful wives: 'He must be a turtle', the reference being to the fact that a turtle usually lays several dozen eggs.

Under all this rank growth of primitive emotion lie the roots of qualities we value most in civilized man; such as courage, kindliness, devotion, and honesty. Stone Age man is ordinarily well intentioned toward the welfare of any white man or alien stranded in the bush, and countless stories are told of their rescue of them. In such circumstances they treat them as privileged invalids, and except when bad impressions have been made by previous visitors, they are accepted at face-value. If they act as gentlemen they are treated as such; but if they abuse the hospitality of their hosts, and attempt to rape the women, as has frequently happened, they are exterminated by the only law known to the nomad.

It is impossible to walk through the bush and not notice